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PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1788.

MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

Summary of the Arguments in Convention, on the Debates respecting Biennial Elections.

Monday, January 14.

IT had been mentioned by ſome gentlemen, that the introduction of tyranny into ſeveral nations had been by lengthening the duration of their parliaments, or legiſlative bodies; and the fate of thoſe nations was urged as a caution againſt lengthening the period for which Congreſs is to be choſen.—The hon. Mr. Sedgwick wiſhed to know what were the nations which had been thus deprived of their liberties; hebe lieved they were few in number—in fact he did not recollect any. After ſhewing by ſeveral examples how nations had been deprived of their liberties, he continued—Is it not neceſſary, Mr. Preſident, that the fœderal repreſentatives ſhould be choſen for two years? Annual elections in a ſingle ſtate may be the beſt, for a variety of reaſons: but the great affairs of thirteen ſtates, where their commerce may be extended, and where it is neceſſary to be reſtricted, what meaſure may be moſt expedient, and beſt adapted to promote the general proſperity thereof, are to be the objects of deliberation; is not ſuch a period too ſhort? Can a man called into public life, diveſt himſelf of local concerns, and inſtantly initiate himſelf into a general knowledge of ſuch extenſive and weighty matters? After ſeveral other arguments in favor of the ſection, he begged the indulgence of the convention while he made a perſonal obſervation: "It has been given out, Sir, by ſeveral perſons, that I ſaid the conſtitution muſt go down, right or wrong——I beg leave to declare, Sir, on my honor, that ſo far from having made ſuch declaration, the idea of it has not ever entered my mind."

Mr. G. Dench wiſhed to know how the repreſentation was ſecured, as by the 4th ſection, Congreſs were empowered to make or alter the regulation of the times, places, and manner of holding elections: Mr. D. was continuing, but was called to order by Mr. Parſons, who ſaid, that the ſubject in debate was the expediency of biennial elections, and that an anſwer to the gentleman from Hopkinton, would more properly be given when the 4th ſection was under conſideration.

Dr. Taylor. Mr. Preſident, I am oppoſed to biennial, and I am in favor of annual elections; annual elections have been the practice of this ſtate ever ſince its ſettlement, and no objection to ſuch a mode of electing has ever been made; it has, indeed, Sir, been conſidered as the ſafeguard of the liberties of the people; and the annihilation of it the avenue through which tyranny will enter. By the articles of confederation, annual elections are provided for; though we have additional ſecurities in a right to recall any or all of our members from Congreſs; and a proviſion for rotation. In the propoſed conſtitution there is no proviſion for rotation, we have no right by it to recall our delegates. In anſwer to the obſervation, that by frequency of elections, good men will be excluded, I anſwer, if they behave well, it is probable they will be continued, but if they behave ill, how ſhall we remedy the evil. It is poſſible, that rulers may be appointed who may wiſh to root out the liberties of the people. Is it not, Mr. Preſident, better, if ſuch a caſe ſhould occur, that at a ſhort period they ſhould politically die, than that they ſhould be proceeded againſt by impeachment. Theſe conſiderations, and others, ſaid the Doctor, make me in favor of annual elections; and the further we deviate therefrom, the greater is the evil.

The hon. Mr. Sprague was in favor of the ſection as it ſtood; He thought the ſame principles ought not to guide us, when conſidering the election of a body whoſe juriſdiction was co-extenſive with a great continent, as when regulating that of one whoſe concerns are only thoſe of a ſingle ſtate.

Mr. T. Dawes, after a ſhort exordium, ſaid he had not heard it mentioned by any gentleman who had ſpoken in the debate, that the right of electing repreſentatives in Congreſs, as provided for in the propoſed conſtitution, will be the acquiſition of a new privilege by the people, as it really will be. The people will then be immediately repreſented in the fœderal government; at preſent they are not; therefore it will be in favor of the people, if they are even choſen for forty inſtead of two years; and he adduced many reaſons to ſhew that it would not conduce to the intereſt of the United States, or the ſecurity of the people, to have them for a ſhorter period than two years.

The hon. Mr. White ſaid he was oppoſed to the ſection, he thought the ſecurity of the people lay in frequent elections; for his part he would rather they ſhould be for ſix months than for two years, and concluded by ſaying he was in favor of annual elections.

Dr. Jarvis, Gen. Brooks, Gen. Heath, and the hon. Mr. Turner, each ſpoke a few words on the ſubject when a motion was made to poſtpone the conſideration of the 2d ſection until to-morrow morning, which paſſing, the convention adjourned.

Tueſday, January 15.

Mr. Ames. I do not regret, Mr. Preſident, we are not unanimous upon this queſtion I do not conſider the diverſity of ſentiment which prevails, as an impediment in our way to the diſcovery of truth. In order that we may think alike upon this ſubject at laſt, we ſhall be compelled to diſcuſs it, by aſcending to the principles upon which the doctrine of repreſentation is grounded.

Without premeditation, in a ſituation ſo novel, and awed by the reſpect which I feel for this venerable aſſembly, I diſtruſt extremely my own feelings, as well as my competency to proſecute this enquiry. With the hope of an indulgent hearing, I will attempt to proceed. I am ſenſible, Sir, that the doctrine of frequent elections, has been ſanctified by antiquity; and is ſtill more endeared to us by our recent experience, and uniform habits of thinking. Gentlemen have expreſſed their zealous partiality for it. They conſider this as a leading queſtion in the debate, and that the merits of many other parts of the conſtitution are involved in the deciſion. I confeſs, Sir, and I declare that my zeal for frequent elections, is not inferior to their own. I conſider it as one of the firſt ſecurities for popular liberty, in which its very eſſence may be ſuppoſed to reſide. But how ſhall we make the beſt uſe of this pledge and inſtrument of our ſafety? A right principle, carried to an extreme, becomes uſeleſs. It is apparent, that a delegation for a ſhort term, as for a ſingle day, would defeat the deſign of repreſentation. The election in that caſe would not ſeem to the people to be of any importance, and the perſon elected would think as lightly of his appointment. The other extreme is equally to be avoided. An election for a very long term of years, or for life, would remove the member too far from the controul of the people, would be dangerous to liberty, and in fact repugnant to the purpoſes of the delegation. The truth, as uſual, is placed ſomewhere between the extremes, and I believe is included in this propoſition. The term of election muſt be ſo long, that the repreſentative may underſtand the intereſts of the people, and yet ſo limited, that his fidelity may be ſecured by a dependence upon their approbation.

Before I proceed to the application of this rule, I cannot forbear to premiſe ſome remarks upon two opinions which have been ſuggeſted.

Much has been ſaid about the people diveſting themſelves of power, when they delegate it to repreſentatives, and that all repreſentation is to their diſadvantage, becauſe it is but an image, a copy, fainter, and more imperfect than the original, the people, in whom the light of power is primary and unborrowed, which is only reflected by their delegates. I cannot agree to either of theſe opinions. The repreſentation of the people is ſomething more than the people. I know, Sir, but one purpoſe which the people can effect without delegation, and that is, to deſtroy a government. That they cannot erect a government is evinced by our being thus aſſembled, on their behalf. The people muſt govern by a majority, with whom all power reſides. But how is the ſenſe of this majority to be obtained? It has been ſaid that a pure democracy is the beſt government for a ſmall people who may aſſemble in perſon. It is of a ſmall conſequence to diſcuſs it, as it would be inapplicable to the great country we inhabit. It may be of ſome uſe in this argument however, to conſider, that it would be very burthenſome, ſubject to faction and violence, deciſions would often be made by ſurprize, in the precipitancy of paſſion, by men who either underſtand nothing, or care nothing about the ſubject; or by intereſted men, or thoſe who vote for their own indemnity. It would be a government not by laws, but by men. Such were the paltry democracies of Greece and Aſia Minor, ſo much extolled, and ſo often propoſed as a model for our imitation. I deſire to be thankful that our people are not under any temptation to adopt the advice. I think it will not be denied, that the people are gainers by the election of repreſentatives. They may deſtroy, but they cannot exerciſe the powers of government in perſon; but by their ſervants, they govern; they do not renounce their power, they do not ſacrifice their rights; they become the true ſovereigns of the country, when they delegate that power, which they cannot uſe themſelves, to their truſtees.

I know, Sir, that the people talk about the liberty of nature, and aſſert, that we diveſt ourſelves of a portion of it, when we enter into ſociety. This is declamation againſt matter of fact. We cannot live without ſociety; and as to liberty, how can I be ſaid to enjoy that which another may take from me when he pleaſes. The liberty of one depends not ſo much on the removal of all reſtraint from him, as on the due reſtraint upon the liberty of others. Without ſuch reſtraint, there can be no liberty; liberty is ſo far from being endangered or deſtroyed by this, that it is extended and ſecured. For I ſaid, that we do not enjoy that, which another may take from us. But civil liberty cannot be taken from us, when any one may pleaſe to invade it; for we have the ſtrength of the ſociety on our ſide.

I hope, Sir, that theſe reflections will have ſome tendency to remove the ill impreſſions which are made by propoſing to diveſt the people of their power.

That they may never be diveſted of it, I repeat I am in favour of frequent elections. They who commend annual elections, are deſired to conſider, that the queſtion is, whether biennial elections are a defect in the conſtitution: For it does not follow, becauſe annual elections are ſafe, that biennial elections are dangerous, for both may be good. Nor is there any foundation for the fears of thoſe, who ſay that if we who have been accuſtomed to chuſe for one year only, now xtend it to two, the next ſtride will be to five, or ſeven years, and the next for a term of life: for this article, with all its ſuppoſed defects, is in favor of liberty. Being inſerted in the conſtitution, it is not ſubject to be repealed by law. We are ſure that it is the worſt of the caſe.

It is a fence againſt ambitious encroachments, too high and too ſtrong to be paſſed: In this reſpect, we have greatly the advantage of the people of England, and of all the world. The law which limits their parliaments, is liable to be repealed.

I will not defend this article, by ſaying that it was a matter of compromiſe in the fœderal convention; it has my entire approbation as it ſtands. I think that we ought to prefer, in this article, biennial elections to annual, and my reaſons for this opinion are drawn from theſe ſources.

From the extent of the country to be governed.

The objects of their legiſlation.

And the more perfect ſecurity of our liberty.

It ſeems obvious, that men who are to collect in Congreſs from this great territory, perhaps from the bay of Fundy, or from the banks of the Ohio, and the ſhore of Lake Superior, ought to have a longer term in office, than the delegates of a ſingle ſtate, in their own legiſlature. It is not by riding poſt to and from Congreſs, that a man can acquire a juſt knowledge of the true intereſts of the union. This term of election, is inapplicable to the ſtate of a country as large as Germany, or as the Roman empire in the zenith of its power.

If we conſider the objects of their delegation, little doubt will remain. It is admitted that annual elections may be highly fit for the ſtate legiſlature. Every citizen grows up with a knowledge of the local circumſtances of the ſtate. But the buſineſs of the fœderal government will be very different. The objects of their power are few and national. At leaſt two years in office will be neceſſary to enable a man to judge of the trade and intereſts of ſtates which he never ſaw. The time, I hope, will come, when this excellent country will furniſh food (and freedom, which is better than food, which is the food of the ſoul) for fifty millions of happy people. Will any man ſay that the national buſineſs can be underſtood in one year.

Biennial elections appear to me, ſir, an eſſential ſecurity to liberty. Theſe are my reaſons.

Faction and enthuſiaſm are the inſtruments by which popular governments are deſtroyed. We need not talk of the power of an ariſtocracy. The people when they loſe their liberties are cheated out of them. They nouriſh factions in their boſoms, which will ſubſiſt ſo long as abuſing their honeſt credulity ſhall be the means of acquiring power. A democrocy is a volcano, which conceals the fiery materials of its own deſtruction. Theſe will produce an eruption, and carry deſolation in their way. The people always mean right and if time is allowed for reflection and information, they will do right. I would not have the firſt wiſh, the momentary impulſe of the public mind, become law, for it is not always the ſenſe of the people, with whom, I admit, that all power reſides. On great queſtions, we firſt hear the loud clamors of paſſion, artifice and faction. I conſider biennial elections as a ſecurity that the ſober ſecond thought of the people ſhall be law. There is a calm review of public tranſactions, which is made by the citizens who have families and children, the pledge of their fidelity. To provide for popular liberty, we muſt take care that meaſures ſhould not be adopted without due deliberation.

The members choſen for two years will feel ſome independence in his ſeat. The factions of the day will expire before the end of his term.

The people will be proportionally attentive to the merits of a candidate. Two years will afford opportunity to the member to deſerve well of them, and they will require evidence that he has done it.

But, ſir, the repreſentatives are the grand inquiſition of the union. They are by impeachment to bring great offenders to juſtice. One year will not ſuffice to detect guilt, and to purſue it to conviction. Therefore they will eſcape, and the balance of the two branches, will be deſtroyed; and the people oppreſſed with impunity. The ſenators will repreſent the ſovereignty of the ſtates. The repreſentatives are to repreſent the people. The officers ought to bear ſome proportion in point of importance. This will be impoſſible if they are choſen for one year only.

Will the people, then, blind the eyes of their own watchmen? Will they bind the hands which are to hold the ſword for their defence? Will they impair their own power, by an unreaſonable jealouſy of themſelves.

For theſe reaſons, I am clearly of opinin, that the article is entitled to our approbation as it ſtands; and as it has been demanded, why annual elections were not preferred to biennial, permit me to retort the queſtion, and to enquire in my turn, what reaſon can be given why if annual elections are good, biennial elections are not better?

Mr. Dench ſaid, his objection to biennial elections were removed: but he wiſhed to recur to the 4th ſection, and to enquire, whether that election was ſecured, as by this ſection, Congreſs has power to regulate the time, place, and manner of holding it.

[A queſtion now aroſe, whether the conſideration of the 4th ſection was in order, and much debate was had hereon; but the propriety, as expreſſed by a worthy member, of "elucidating ſcripture by ſcripture" being generally admitted, the motion made by the Hon. Mr. Dana paſſed, which put an end to the converſation.]

The Hon. Mr. Bowdoin remarked on the idea ſuggeſted by the honorable gentleman from Scituate (Mr. Turner) who had ſaid that nature pointed out the propriety of annual elections by its annual renewal, and obſerved, that if the revolution of the heavenly bodies is to be the principle to regulate elections, it was not fixed to any period; as in ſome of the ſyſtems it would be very ſhort; and in the laſt diſcovered planet, it would be 80 of our years. Gentlemen, he ſaid, who had gone before him in the debate, had clearly pointed out the alteration of the election of our fœderal repreſentatives, from annual to biennial, to be juſtifiable. Annual elections may be neceſſary in this ſtate; but in the choice of repreſentatives for the continent, ought to be longer; nor did he ſee any danger in its being ſo. Who, he aſked, are the men to be elected? Are they not among us? If they were to be a diſtinct body, then the doctrine of precaution which gentlemen uſe would be neceſſary:---but, ſir, they can make no laws, nor levy any taxes, but thoſe to which they themſelves muſt be ſubſervient---they themſelves muſt bear a part; therefore, our ſecurity is guaranteed, by their being thus ſubjected to the laws, if nothing elſe.

General Heath ſaid, he conſidered himſelf not as an inhabitant of Maſſachuſetts, but as a citizen of the United States; and his ideas and views were commenſurate with the continent; they extended in length from the St. Croix to the St. Maria, and in breadth from the Atlantic to the Lake of the Woods. Having premiſed this, the worthy gentleman ſaid, he ſhould not have riſen, had he not heard gentlemen ſpeak ſo lightly of lengthening of elections. The opinion of all great writers on government was, that the liberties of the people have always been dependent on the duration of parliament; that that was the opinon of Monteſquieu, and ſeveral other legiſlators: and ſays he, the hiſtory of our country will ſhew us in what reſpect frequent elections have been held. It was the wiſdom of our anceſtors that formed the meaſure of annual elections, and it is ſanctified by age: Therefore, ſir, before we alter it, we ſhould carefully examine, that it be for the better. It is a novel idea, ſaid the general, that the repreſentatives ought to have time to learn their duty; he thought they always ought to have a general knowledge of the intereſt of their conſtituents. Having mentioned a circumſtance, that the Britiſh parliament have frequent occaſion, before they can determine ſome important points, to return home to their conſtituents, to obtain information: and as Congreſs are to have but one ſeſſion in a year, and may want ſuch an opportunity to gain information, he ſat down by obſerving, that he was in favor of biennial elections.

The Hon. Mr. Turner, in reply to the Hon. Mr. Bowdoin, ſaid, he thought it an important conſideration, whether the elections are to be for one or for two years; he was, he ſaid, greatly

in favor of annual elections, and he thought, in the preſent inſtance, it would be eſtabliſhing a dangerous precedent to adopt a change: for ſays he, the principle may ſo operate, as in time, our elections will be as ſeldom as the revolution of the ſtar the hon. gentleman talks of.

Mr. Dawes, in anſwer to general Heath, ſaid, that the paſſage quoted from Monteſquieu applied to ſingle governments, and not to confederated ones

[To be continued.]

For the PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

Meſſrs. HALL & SELLERS,

The much greater part of the following obſervations were written ſeveral months ago, although it was then thought unneceſſary to offer them to the public; but finding it is yet *the wiſh of* certain individuals *to* patch up *and keep alive an* anti-fœderal ſyſtem, *injurious to the citizens of Pennſylvania and the union in general, you are requeſted to give them a place in your uſeful paper.*

A. B.

ON THE FUNDING LAWS.

IT is a common ſaying, that if the taxes, duties and impoſts of the ſtate of Pennſylvania were duly collected, the intereſt of the public debt would be regularly paid, and the treaſury adequate to all demands; and this would effectually counteract every thing that has or could be ſaid againſt the funding ſyſtem, ſo far as it might operate in cauſing the fall of ſtocks. The fact is, if the ſtate had not adopted a part diſproportioned to her reſources, and to her quota of the fœderal debt, the intereſt on certificates might poſſibly be paid, the treaſury equal to common demands, and the credit of the ſtate in ſome meaſure ſupported. Pennſylvania certainly did herſelf honor in endeavouring to pay the intereſt on the debts due to her citizens, and erred only in attempting too much; by making the baſis of the ſyſtem ſo broad, as to include a large quantity of continental debt due to *people of other ſtates*, for the diſcharge of which her funds and taxes have been injudiciouſly employed from the beginning.*----And in endeavouring to make the proviſion *permanent*, when it ſhould have been but *temporary*, ſo that it might ceaſe to operate, if found not to accord with the meaſures agreed upon by Congreſs for the ſupport of *national* credit.

I differ from the abſurd ſpeculations of thoſe, who are at a late hour, when there can be but a ſmall proportion of certificates in the hands of original holders, for making a diſcrimination between them and purchaſers. But if the ſtate has adopted more than her proportion of the debt, it is propoſed that the Aſſembly ſhall reviſe the funding and land-office laws, ſo as to make them conformable to the original and *declared deſign*; that of giving relief to our *own citizens* who were public creditors. And for that purpoſe the following clauſe in the 14th ſection of the act of the 16th of March, 1785:

"*Provided always*, That ſuch certificates reſpectively were originally iſſued from the ſaid loan-office, *or given or granted for articles furniſhed, or for ſervices done and performed* during the late war *by the citizens of this ſtate*, or by officers or ſoldiers admitted and adopted as *of the Pennſylvania line or quota of the troops of this ſtate*, and in the name and for the uſe of ſuch perſon or perſons, or ſome other who *at the time of ſuch iſſuing was* (or were, or ſince hath or have been) *a citizen or citizens of this ſtate, by actual reſidence within the ſame*," ſhould be repealed. And in lieu thereof to enact,

"*Provided always*, That ſuch certificates reſpectively were originally iſſued to, and given or granted for articles furniſhed or ſervices done and performed, during the late war, by *inhabitants of Pennſylvania*, and in the name and for the uſe of ſuch perſon or perſons, who, at the time ſaid debts were contracted, *was or were* and *now are* a citizen or citizens of this ſtate, by actual reſidence within the ſame."

And that the *land-office laws* ſhall be altered in like manner, and ſo far as relates thereto, this ſhall be in force from and after its being enacted; but with regard to the funding laws, it ſhall be conſidered as taking effect from the paſſing of the act of the 1ſt March, 1786, which was the period when this reviſion ſhould have been made. After the paſſing of this act, the *Comptroller-General* will not receive any certificates on loan but ſuch as are juſtly entitled, and thoſe which he has already iſſued muſt be examined by him, previous to their being preſented to receive the next half year's intereſt; and ſuch certificates or parts of certificates, as do not come within the true intent and meaning of the act, ſhall be delivered up to *be cancelled*, and the originals returned to the owners or poſſeſſors of thoſe ſo delivered up.

If all ſuch certificates were now in poſſeſſion of the perſons who loaned them, the plan would be perfectly eaſy, as they would be put in no worſe ſituation than they were before, and have received two years intereſt for their trouble; and as to the inconvenience that would ariſe to the holders of ſuch ſecurities as may have purchaſed them ſince they were loaned, it is unavoidable. By this means the debt would be leſſened ſo as to be brought within the abilities of the ſtate; and the plain queſtion is, whether it will be better to perform a diſagreeable operation, to the ſuppoſed diſadvantage of a few members, than ſuffer the ſyſtem to exiſt in its preſent form, when it cannot afford the relief intended.

But if this is not thought practicable, we will probably have to comply with the ſyſtem of general revenue propoſed by Congreſs, or ſuch other ſyſtem as they may think moſt adviſable; repeal our funding laws, cancel the ſtate ſecurities, deliver up the original ones to the proper owners, and refer them to the funds of the United States for payment.----Or otherwiſe reduce the rate per cent. of intereſt, until the funds of the ſtate become productive, making it optional with the holders either to agree to ſaid reduction, or accept the proviſion made by Congreſs. Such are the conſequences which muſt naturally reſult from regulations made by individual members of the union, independent of, and different from, thoſe recommended for the good of the whole!

It has been already mentioned, that "the declared deſign of "the *funding laws* was that of affording relief to ſuch citizens of "Pennſylvania as were creditors of the union, until ſome gene-"ral ſyſtem of revenue ſhould be agreed upon by the United "States in Congreſs." However, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe the period is faſt approaching, when the national debt, both foreign and domeſtic, will be permanently provided for under the propoſed *fœderal government*, by a *general impoſt* and *equal tax and exciſe* throughout the union, together with the ſales of weſtern territory. As the debt was *contracted* upon the credit of the United States, it ought to be *paid* in the ſame manner, and each individual of ſociety ſhould yield his juſt proportion; and this cannot be done but by a fœderal fund, neither can PUBLIC CREDIT be reſtored in any other way. All partial ſyſtems, which ſhall be found not to accord with fœderal meaſures, muſt neceſſarily be done away by the *General Aſſembly of the States*. In which caſe the credit of Pennſylvania will receive no injury, becauſe it is done by a ſuperior power, and for the good of the Union, and the creditors will chearfully accept a more ſtable ſecurity.

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* Whether the ſtate was right in beginning to diſcharge part of the principal of the *continental debt* by the ſales of land, &c. before ſhe knew how far it might be either proper or advantageous in her account with the United States, I will not at preſent pretend to ſay; but it is inconſiſtent with the true principles of finance, to attempt to pay the *principal*, when unable to diſcharge even the *annual intereſt*. And her aſſumption of a *particular part* muſt appear highly abſurd, when it is conſidered that ſhe is ſtill accountable with the other ſtates, for the *aggregate* of both the foreign and *domeſtic* debt.

The Congreſs will no doubt take the impoſt and exciſe, and, if neceſſary, levy a general tax for payment of the intereſt, &c. of the foreign and domeſtic debt, and other fœderal purpoſes. *Of courſe, the ſtate cannot levy an additional tax for the payment of the intereſt or principal of any debt that is chargeable to the Union.* Admitting, then, that Pennſylvania conſiders herſelf a domeſtic creditor, by holding the ſecurities of the United States in lieu of thoſe which ſhe has iſſued, it is *idle to ſuppoſe that the Congreſs will allow her to ſet off the annual intereſt which may be due upon the continental certificates in her poſſeſſion, againſt her proportion of the ſupplies of money which muſt neceſſarily be collected into the continental treaſury for the ſupport of the union.* Under the preſent confederation, where the demands of the union are *quotaed annually* upon the different ſtates, this might poſſibly do; but under the new government, wherein it is propoſed (ſee Sect. 8, Art. 1.) that there ſhall be a *conſolidation*, ſo far as reſpects *taxation and revenue*, the idea would be ridiculous. No good reaſon therefore can be given, why the certificates ſhall not *revert* to the United States, or, in other words, why the creditors ſhould not be allowed to receive the intereſt from the *fœderal treaſury* in the firſt inſtance, or that the ſtate ſhould firſt receive and afterwards *retail* it to individuals. This would be employing *ſtate agents* unneceſſarily, and keeping certificates in circulation, *nominally* belonging to the ſtate, whoſe credit muſt reſt *ſolely* upon the United States, notwithſtanding Pennſylvania has engaged to pay them off in the year 1796!----With regard to ſuch certificates as the ſtate has actually redeemed by the ſales of land, the caſe is different, and ſhe will no doubt receive the intereſt on them in common with other creditors.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

Philad. Jan. 28, 1788.

NUMBER III.

To the MINORITY of the CONVENTION of *Pennſylvania*.

Gentlemen,

IN my former letters I endeavoured to point out certain proviſions of the new Conſtitution, and ſeveral circumſtances that muſt reſult from the propoſed frame of government and the ſtate conſtitutions, which might demonſtrate, that there is no ground to apprehend a conſolidation of the ſtates, that ſhall join in the depending confederacy, into one government.

An obſervation of the honorable Mr. Wilſon's has been adduced, among other arguments, to prove, that deſpotiſm would follow ſuch a general government. I believe with him and with you, that ſuch would be the conſequence of *a ſingle national conſtitution, in which all the objects of ſociety and government were ſo compleatly provided for, as to place the ſeveral ſtates in the union on the footing of counties of the empire.*---But permit me to aſk you, gentlemen, will ſuch be the condition of the ſtates? Where is the county that can independently train its own militia, appoint its civil and militia officers, eſtabliſh *a peculiar ſyſtem* of penal laws, iſſue criminal proceſs *in its own name*, erect corporations, *impoſe direct taxes*, exciſes and duties, hold lands in its own right, *commence war* on any emergency, *regulate deſcents*, preſcribe *the qualifications* of electors, alter its conſtitution or *the principles* of its government, divide itſelf into ſeparate and *independent parts*, join itſelf to another ſtate, iſſue writs for elections, and regulate the ſame, enact inſpection laws, *erect courts*, appoint judges, *commiſſion* all its officers, create new offices, ſell and give away its lands, *erect fortifications*, and, in ſhort where is the county in the union, or in the world, that can exerciſe in any inſtance *independent legiſlative, executive or judicial powers?*

Thoſe three gentlemen who with-held their names from the act of the fœderal convention could not have apprehended the annihilation of the ſtate governments, while that houſe was ſitting, or they would, under the influence of ſuch a fear, certainly have preſſed for a bill of rights. It appears they did not think one ſo neceſſary, as to concert a ſingle motion to obtain it: A concluſive proof, in my mind, that they ſaw no ſymptoms of a deſign to conſolidate in the framers of the plan, and that they had no apprehenſions of the kind themſelves.

The conſtruction of the ſenate affords an abſolute certainty, that the ſtates will not loſe their preſent ſhare of ſeparate powers. No ſtate is to loſe its voice therein without *its own conſent*. Governor Randolph juſtly obſerves, that the force of the conſtitution of any ſtate can only be leſſened *by the abſolute grant of its own citizens*. Whatever therefore is now poſſeſſed will remain, unleſs transferred by new grants. The ſtate legiſlatures too being the immediate repreſentatives and guardians of their *reſpective* conſtituents, and being the powerful creators of the ſenators, it cannot be apprehended, either that they will give away their own powers, or that they will chuſe men who are unfriendly to them; nor is it at all probable that a ſenator would hazard the diſpleaſure of the people, or the vengeance of ſo potent a body as a ſtate legiſlature, by ſacrificing their intereſts or powers. Rather may it be expected, that his intereſt and connexions in the ſtate will too partially attach him to it, to the injury of national objects; or that he may neglect general concerns, from a deſire to pleaſe a legiſlature or a people, who will be to him *the ſource of honors, emolument and power*.

So *independent* will the ſtate governments remain, that their laws may, and in ſome inſtances will, be *ſeverer* than thoſe of the union. Treaſon againſt the United States, for inſtance, cannot be attended with confiſcation and corruption of blood; but by the exiſting laws of all the ſtates, *the unoffending families* of attainted perſons, ſtripped of all hereditary rights, and condemned to the bitter portion of extreme poverty, are left without their friend and parent, to meet the trials of the world alone: An awful monument of *the ſovereign and avenging power* of their native ſtate. Let the Repreſentative or Senator who may meditate the annihilation of the government of his ſtate duly conſider this, before it be too late.

You apprehend the power of Congreſs to lay direct taxes will tend to produce conſolidation. But the ſeveral ſtates poſſeſs that power alſo, and by an *early*, wiſe and faithful exerciſe of it, can always ſupercede the uſe of it by Congreſs. For example; if ten thouſand pounds were apportioned to Pennſylvania, to make up the intereſt on our foreign debts by the end of 1788, a tax for which would be laid in July, our legiſlature might proceed in the moſt eaſy and expeditious way to raiſe the money, againſt the time when the fœderal government muſt neceſſarily proceed, and by paying our quota into the fœderal treaſury would fulfil the requiſitions of the law. A fœderal government, that ſhall poſſeſs the leaſt degree of policy or virtue, would never attempt to interfere with ſuch honeſt, wiſe and effectual arrangements of any ſtate. It cannot be reaſonably feared that a fœderal legiſlature, choſen by *the equal voices* of all our citizens, *the poor, as well as the rich*, will ever wreſt from the hands of the people and ſtates, who reſpectively appoint them, powers ſo wiſely placed and ſo honeſtly applied.

The check of the Senate on the appointment of officers will exceedingly favor the preſervation of the ſtate governments. Let us ſuppoſe an expedition on foot, which requires a number of general officers, whom a Preſident might be inclined to appoint from the ſtate to which he belongs, or for which ſeveral perſons are nominated, that are too partially attached to the fœderal government, or deſirous of leſſening the powers of the ſeparate ſtates. *The Senate can reject them all*, and independently give their reaſons to the people and the legiſlatures. That they will often do ſo, we cannot doubt, when we remember *where their private intereſts, affections and connexions lie*, to whom they will owe *their ſeats*---to whom they muſt look for *future favors* of the ſame kind.

The lordſhip of the ſoil is one of the moſt valuable and powerful appendages of ſovereignty---This remains *in full perfection* with every ſtate. From them muſt grants flow, to them muſt be paid *the annual acknowledgment*, whether it be a mere compliance with form in the rendering of a pepper corn, or *a ſolid revenue* in the payment of a quit-rent. To them alſo, as original and rightful proprietaries and *lords of the ſoil*, will the eſtates of extinct families revert.

Independent revenues and reſources are indubitable proofs of *ſovereignty*. The ſtates will poſſeſs many of thoſe which now exiſt, and which may hereafter be created. Taxes on ſtate offices, fees for grants of lands, and various licences, tolls on rivers, canals, and roads not being poſt-roads, rents of public buildings, eſcheats, the mighty fund of quit-rents, and ſales of lands; theſe and many others are (excluſively of Congreſs) within the power of the ſeveral ſtates, beſides their having acceſs, in common with the fœderal government, to every ſource of revenue, but the duties on foreign merchandize and ſhips.

IMPEACHMENTS within the ſeveral ſtates will afford them opportunities of exerting the moſt dignified and aweful powers of ſovereignty. The people of every ſtate, by their conſtitutional repreſentatives, may impeach the public officer, however great or daring, that ſhall preſume to violate their excluſive rights, or offend againſt the peace and dignity of their commonwealth, and may puniſh him, on conviction, by fine, impriſonment or death, without any poſſible interference of Congreſs.

But, Gentlemen, the ſubject is inexhauſtible. Every ſection in the fœderal conſtitution, as we peruſe it, affords new ideas oppoſed to conſolidation: Every moment's reflexion, on the operation and tendency of the propoſed government, adds to their number. I will not therefore treſpaſs longer on your time. I will reſt the matter on your own good ſenſe and candor, confidently truſting that the removal of your apprehenſions on this important point will render the new conſtitution more agreeable to you. Thinking, as you did, conſolidation was intended and would take place, and that it muſt produce a deſpotiſm, you would have been criminal in aſſenting to the plan propoſed; but I will hope that the conſideration of this point which we have taken together, will remove your fears, and open the door to comfortable hopes, rather than to apprehenſions, from the great meaſure now waiting the Fiat of the people of the United States.

A FREEMAN.

NUMBER I.

To the PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES.

Friends and Countrymen,

THE diſſent of the Minority of the Pennſylvania Convention may be conſidered, without impropriety, as an addreſs to your feelings and underſtandings, as well as to thoſe of their immediate conſtituents. I truſt, therefore, you will think me excuſable in claiming your attention to an explanation of our affairs in this ſtate, and to a few ſtrictures on that publication, which, from my reſpect to you, and to thoſe gentlemen, as well as from my concern for the all important queſtion before us, I ſhall render as decent and rational as may be in my power.

There are few topics of any magnitude, which do not require ſome previous explanations to render them more perfectly and eaſily underſtood. Tho' the diſcuſſions of the fœderal conſtitution which have already taken place obviate the neceſſity of preparatory obſervations on that ſubject, yet a fair and decent explanation of ſome other matters will probably have its uſe. It is my intention to develope, as far as I am able, *the principles and grounds of the oppoſition in Pennſylvania*, not with a view to offend, but in order that you may judge, how far it ariſes from reaſonable objections to the propoſed conſtitution, and how far it is created by other cauſes. If I am obliged to touch on any tender parts of our ſtate ſyſtem, it ſhall be my ſtudy to do it with a delicate hand and becoming temper, though, from my duty to you, I will endeavour to perform the taſk with firmneſs and fidelity.

It will be neceſſary to inform you that the nineteen members of our laſt General Aſſembly, who diſſented from the vote for calling a Convention, and who finally ſeceded from the Houſe, were *all* of what is here called *the Conſtitutional Party*, or ſupporters of the preſent conſtitution of this ſtate, ſome principles and articles of which I ſhall hereafter take occaſion to explain. The ſixteen gentlemen, who ſigned the ſeceding addreſs, were a part of thoſe nineteen, and of courſe *all* in the ſame political intereſt in our ſtate affairs. The twenty-three members, who compoſed the Minority of the State Convention, were all likewiſe of the ſame party, and ſome of them were among the nineteen ſeceders. In neither caſe was there *a ſingle perſon* of any *other* political connexion. I muſt obſerve however, and with particular ſatisfaction I do ſo, that the Majority both in the laſt and preſent Aſſembly, and in the State Convention, as alſo our Deputation to the Fœderal Convention, contained ſome decided friends of our ſtate conſtitution. I rejoice in this opportunity of paying a juſt tribute to the virtue and patriotiſm of thoſe gentlemen, who, impelled by their ſenſe of duty, have calmly ſeparated from their late friends, and magnanimouſly ſupported their former opponents in a meaſure which they conceived eſſential to the public happineſs. I muſt add farther, that inſtances of this diſintereſted conduct have been very frequent among thoſe members of that party, who have never aimed at the powers, honors or profits of office. Great numbers of valuable men, of this deſcription, have exhibited ſimilar proofs of their deſpiſing the diſtinctions of party, when put in competition with ſo important a matter as the propoſed Conſtitution.

Further proofs of the influence of our ſtate politics will be found in the addreſs of the minority of the Convention. Thoſe gentlemen ſuggeſt the probability of its originally being intended as a plan for altering the conſtitution of the ſtate, which you well know was not the caſe; and they afterwards declare that ſix of our Deputies (the whole number being eight) *were uniform and decided opponents to the Conſtitution of this commonwealth.*"

You well know, my countrymen, the unhappy and baneful party contentions which have diſtracted Pennſylvania. From your own obſervations and the hiſtory of mankind you have been taught, how frequently *the mad'ning jealouſy of partizans* has blinded the eyes of the beſt intentioned men, and marr'd the moſt ſalutary plans. In this ſtate, and on this great occaſion, we are called to witneſs the effects of this unhappy ſpirit. You are not, however, to credit this on my bare aſſertion. Many of you already know it, and I have adduced the proof of facts to ſhew you, that tho' all the members of the party did not join the oppoſition, either in the Legiſlature or the Convention, yet that the minority of both bodies are *all* conſtitutionaliſts, unmixed with any other of the various deſcriptions of people which compoſe the ſtate.

Let me entreat then, *by the love you bear our common country*, that you receive with caution the meaſures and addreſſes of an oppoſition, in which deep rooted perſonal enmities, conſiderations ſurely foreign to the ſubject, bear ſo large a ſhare. In my next paper I ſhall endeavour candidly to lay before you ſome of the qualities of that ſtate conſtitution, to which the minority of our Convention are confeſſedly attached, in order that you may judge for yourſelves how far you are likely to concur with them in any plan of fœderal government. My object is *neither to offend or cenſure the oppoſition in Pennſylvania*, but to enable you to determine whether another Convention, or any thing leſs than a total alteration of your moſt eſtabliſhed opinions on government, could unite you in ſentiment with them.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

PORTSMOUTH, January 18.

The town of Newmarket have made choice of Col. Nathaniel Rogers for their repreſentative in the enſuing Convention.

The above town, at their meeting for the choice of a repreſentative, paſſed a vote, approving of the propoſed conſtitution, and expreſſing their deſire that it may be adopted in this ſtate, without any alteration, addition or diminution.----Well done, patriotic citizens of Newmarket, may your example be followed by every town in the ſtate.---And may all unite, as one family, in raiſing that pillar for New-Hampſhire, which has juſtice for its baſe---wiſdom, honor, truth and might for its materials---and LIBERTY for its pyramid.

BOSTON January 24.

[The public being deſirous to know the reſult of the converſation in Convention, on Saturday laſt, on the propriety of Mr. Gerry being permitted to give any other information than of facts particularly aſked after, and which it appears has given Mr. G. offence, we lay before our readers, a copy of that gentleman's letter to the Convention, as read yeſterday afternoon.]

SIR, Cambridge, 21ſt Jan. 1788.

IT is with great reluctance that I treſpaſs a moment on the time of the hon. convention, employed as it is, on a ſubject of the higheſt importance to this country, but I am under the neceſſity of ſtating ſome facts, and their conſequences, as they relate to myſelf.

On the 14th of this month the convention paſſed a vote, requeſting me "to take a ſeat in the houſe, to anſwer any queſtion of fact from time to time, that the convention may want to aſk, reſpecting the paſſing of the conſtitution." This requeſt was unexpected, and I complied with it, contrary to my inclination, not doubting in the leaſt that I ſhould be treated with delicacy and candour.

Every gentleman who will reflect but a moment, muſt be ſenſible, that my ſituation on the floor of the convention was not eligible---that it was a humiliating condition, to which nothing could have produced my ſubmiſſion but the reſpect I entertained for the hon. convention, and the deſire I had of complying with their wiſhes.

After having, on Saturday morning, ſtated an anſwer to the queſtion propoſed the preceding evening, I perceived that your hon. body were conſidering a paragraph which reſpected an equal repreſentation of the ſtates in the ſenate, and one of my hon. colleagues obſerved, that this was agreed to by a committee conſiſting of a member from each ſtate, and that I was one of the number. This was a partial narrative of facts, which I conceived placed my conduct in an unfavourable point of light, probably without any ſuch intention on the part of my colleague.

I was thus reduced to the diſagreeable alternative of addreſſing a letter to your honor for correcting this error, or of ſuſtaining the injuries reſulting from its unfavorable impreſſions: not in the leaſt ſuſpecting, that when I had committed myſelf to the convention without the right of ſpeaking in my own defence, any gentleman would take an undue advantage from being a member of the houſe, to continue the miſrepreſentation, by ſuppreſſing every attempt on my part to ſtate the facts. I accordingly informed your honor, that I was preparing a letter to throw light on the ſubject, and at my requeſt you was ſo obliging as to make this communication to the houſe. My ſole object was, to ſtate the matter as it reſpected my conduct, but I ſoon perceived that it was miſunderſtood by the hon. Judge Dana, who roſe with an appearance of party virulence which I did not expect, and followed one miſrepreſentation with another, by impreſſing the houſe with the idea, that I was entering into their debates. I requeſted leave repeatedly to explain the matter, but he became more vehement, and I was ſubject to ſtrictures from ſeveral parts of the houſe, until it adjourned, without even being permitted to declare, that I diſdained ſuch an intention, and did not merit ſuch unworthy treatment.

I confeſs to you, Sir, that the indelicacy and diſingenuity of this procedure, diſtreſſed my feelings beyond any thing I had ever before experienced: For, had every member of the honorable houſe requeſted me by a vote to partake in their debates, I ſhould have conſidered it as improper and unconſtitutional, and from principles of decency and propriety, ſhould have declined their requeſt---and Judge Dana has been too long in public life with me, not to know, that it has never been my practice to attain objects by improper means. Indeed, Sir, ſo remote were my wiſhes from entering into your debates, that after having paſſed a judgment on the conſtitution in the Fœderal Convention, I would not have taken a ſeat in the State Convention with the unanimous ſuffrages of the citizens of Maſſachuſetts, becauſe, in a matter of ſuch important conſequence, it was my wiſh that the final deciſion ſhould be made by themſelves. This was a fact early known to my particular friends, and I do not mention it to ſuggeſt an impropriety in accepting a ſeat in both Conventions, but merely to ſhew the injuſtice done me on this occaſion.

If Judge Dana was apprehenſive that the facts which I ſhould ſtate would eventually prejudice the cauſe he ſo ardently advocated, ſtill I conceive, he could not be juſtified in precluding thoſe facts, which were neceſſary to do me juſtice; for bad indeed muſt be that cauſe which will not bear the light of truth.

Judge Dana took ſanctuary under the rules of the houſe, but I never yet heard of a rule, that was intended to prevent an injured perſon from addreſſing a letter to the body who ſhould redreſs his wrongs, or from giving information of ſuch an intention: and I conceive, ſir, that neither the honorable convention, or any republican body on earth, who had requeſted an individual to attend them for the purpoſe of giving information, would have had any objection to granting him leave to ſpeak, much leſs to addreſs to them a letter, merely for the purpoſe of ſetting a matter right, which in the progreſs of debates had by an erroneous ſtatement tended to his injury.

It is true, ſir, I differ in opinion from a number of reſpectable members of your honorable houſe, on the ſubject of the propoſed conſtitution: But I flattered myſelf, that not a member could be found ſo deficient in liberality, as to bear animoſity towards me on this account. The ſtrong impreſſions which I felt, and which I ſtill feel, that this ſyſtem, without amendment, will deſtroy the liberties of America, inferred on me an indiſpenſible obligation to give it my negative: And having done this, I feel the approbation of my own mind, which is infinitely preferable to univerſal applauſes without it. If, nevertheleſs, my conduct in this inſtance has given offence; if there is at this time ſo little freedom in America, as that a perſon in diſcharging a moſt important public truſt, cannot conduct according to the obligations of honor, and dictates of his conſcience, it appears to me of little conſequence what form of government we adopt, for we are not far removed from a ſtate of ſlavery.

I ſhall only add, ſir, that I have ſubjoined a ſtate of facts, founded on documents relative to my conſent, that the leſſer ſtates ſhould have an equal repreſentation in the ſenate---that I ſtill entertain the higheſt reſpect for the honorable convention, who I am ſure will never countenance unfair proceedings, but that I cannot again place myſelf in a ſituation, where I muſt hear my conduct miſrepreſented without the privilege of requeſting leave of your honorable body to eſtabliſh facts and promote juſtice.

I have the honor to be, ſir, with the higheſt reſpect for the honorable convention, and yourſelf, your moſt obedient, and very humble ſervant,

E. GERRY.

To the Hon. JUDGE CUSHING,
Vice-Preſident of the Convention of Maſſachuſetts.

PHILADELPHIA, February 6.

A correſpondent has furniſhed us with the following authentic account of the late melancholy accident which has ſo much excited the ſympathy of the public for ſome days paſt: ----

Mr. David Lewis and Mr. Joſeph Thomas had accompanied Miſs Morton, (daughter of Mr. John Morton) and Miſs Hollingſworth, (daughter of Mr. Levi Hollingſworth) in a ſleigh, on a viſit to an intimate friend lately married, and removed from the city into Cheſter county:-----They ſet off on their return home on Tueſday laſt; when they reached Darby Creek, they found it ſo ſwelled by the rain and melting ſnow, that the ford over which the Marple road led was altogether impaſſible: they enquired of the neighbours, and were informed that there was a good bridge at a ſmall diſtance up the creek; they accordingly went thither---they examined the bridge and road, and conceived it ſafe: the driver and the two gentlemen got out in order to ſee the way before the paſſage was attempted; the bridge was immediately below the confluence of two ſtreams, and the road beyond the bridge paſſed over low grounds then overflowed by the freſh---after this examination Mr. Lewis went into the ſleigh to drive it, while the driver and Mr. Thomas were endeavouring to make their way acroſs the overflowed grounds as well as they could on foot, that the ſleigh might be eaſier drawn; the courſe of the road could not be exactly ſeen through the water that covered it, and after they had left the bridge about eighty yards, the near horſe ſlipt into one of the ſtreams, which ran nearly parallel to the road, and drew the other horſe and ſleigh after him. Mr. Thomas ſeeing their danger, croſſed the road and came to their aſſiſtance, ſeizing hold of the back part of the ſleigh; but by this time the current had entered between the off horſe and the bank of the ſtream, and turned them round with ſuch rapidity as to baffle all his ſtrength: he however determined to riſk his life with thoſe in the ſleigh, and accordingly ſtuck to it, endeavouring to keep it from overſetting. The horſes ſwam, and aimed at the oppoſite ſhore of the creek; but the ſtream was too rapid, and carried them down backwards to the bridge, where Mr. Thomas received a heavy blow againſt one of the timbers, and loſing his hold, drifted in the ſtream; the ſleigh followed, paſſing under the bridge. Mr. Thomas ſwam to the ſhore, but before he reached it the ſleigh overſet, and Mr. Lewis and the two ladies were committed to the current, which drove Mr. Lewis and Miſs Morton within reach of the branches of a ſtooping tree, which they laid hold of, and ſhe by his aſſiſtance was enabled to ſtick to, until Mr. Thomas came to their aſſiſtance, and thus their lives were providentially ſaved; but Miſs Hollingſworth (being nearer the middle of the ſtream) was carried rapidly down---and before the others got to the faſt land, ſo as to reſt their exhauſted limbs in ſafety, ſhe diſappeared. Several neighbours were by this time collected, and ſearched for the body in vain. It was found about break of day the next morning, near half a mile below the bridge, and brought to town in the evening---it was interred on Friday afternoon in the Friends burial ground, attended by the greateſt concourſe of people of every religious denomination that has perhaps ever been collected together upon any occaſion in this city.

The blooming beauty, the ſweetly engaging diſpoſition, the amiable and unaffected ſimplicity of manners, the enlightened mind and cultivated underſtanding of this accompliſhed young lady, render the cataſtrophe the moſt affecting of any we recollect to have happened; and the mournful ſolemnity which attended the funeral fully evinces, that ſympathy and compaſſion are eminent characteriſtics of the citizens of Philadelphia.

The companions in this diſtreſſing ſcene ſuffered much from the floating ice and the inclemency of the element in which they remained ſo long; but it is hoped their health is not permanently injured. The poignant grief which the untimely fate of their amiable deceaſed friend has fixed in their hearts, will retard their recovery, and can only be abated and alleviated by the lenient hand of time.

A tender and affectionate father and mother, and ſurviving brothers and ſiſter, deeply lament the early removal of a beloved companion, calculated by nature and education to enliven the chearful and mitigate the gloomy hours of life. The ſex has loſt one of its brighteſt ornaments, and her friends will long continue to feel and regret her ſeparation from them---

"But as they weep let them be ſure to ſay,
"The Lord who gives has right to take away."

In conſequence of a publication (ſigned Centinel) which appeared in the Boſton Gazette of the 21ſt ult. purporting that the moſt diabolical plan was on foot to corrupt the members of Convention, who oppoſe the adoption of the new Conſtitution, and that large ſums of money have been brought from a neighbouring ſtate for that purpoſe, the Convention of Maſſachuſetts paſſed a reſolve for enquiring into the ſubject of the ſaid publication, and for aſcertaining the truth or falſhood of the ſuggeſtions therein contained; and accordingly ordered the Meſſenger to requeſt the Printers of the paper to appear before them forthwith, to give information reſpecting the publication. The Meſſenger having waited on the Printers, they in the afternoon ſent a letter to the Convention, acquainting that honorable body, that the gentleman who furniſhed them with the information, had ſaid he had good foundation for it, and that they could not give up his name. On this a committee was raiſed, to take their letter into conſideration, who have not yet reported; but from many circumſtances that have tranſpired, we are authoriſed to aſſure the public, that it is a falſe and groundleſs fabrication.

Sunday laſt Capt. Decature, in the ſloop Nancy, got ſafe into Hereford Inlet, (about twelve miles N. E. of the Pitch of Cape-May) after a paſſage of 72 days from Demarara. He has been on the coaſt ſince the 25th of December, and fifteen times blown off. His mate and one of his hands were waſhed overboard, but the mate was fortunately ſaved by catching hold of a rope; another of his men had an arm broke by the ſame ſea. The veſſel being leaky, the ſails torn to pieces, and his proviſions expended, Capt. Decature almoſt deſpaired of being able to make any port, when he fortunately fell in with Mr. MATTHEW HAND, one of the Cape-May Pilots, who made it a rule to go out in his boat every fair day. To this vigilant Pilot Capt. Decature feels himſelf greatly indebted for the preſent ſafety of himſelf and veſſel. As ſoon as the ſloop was got into a place of ſafety, Mr. Hand went out in queſt of two ſloops then in the offing.

Married, at Providence, Mr. John Francis, merchant, late of this city, to Miſs Abby Brown, daughter of John Brown, Eſq; a young lady richly poſſeſſed of every requiſite to dignify and adorn the connubial ſtate.

*** Agreeable to the laſt Will and Teſtament of JOHN PETTY, deceaſed, The Overſeers of the Poor will deliver out Bread to the Poor of the City and Liberties TO-MORROW MORNING, at Ten o'Clock, at the Court-houſe.

February 6th, 1788.

Pennſylvania Hoſpital Medical Library.

THE following BOOKS are miſſing. The Gentlemen who have them in poſſeſſion will oblige the Contributors, by returning them to WILLIAM GARDNER, Apothecary, at the Hoſpital.

Van Swieten's Commentaries, Vol. 7th.
Aſtruc on the Venereal Diſeaſe, Vol. 2d.
M'Quere's Elements of Chemiſtry, Vol. 1ſt.
Hoffman's Works, Vol. 5th.

By order of a Board of Managers,
1ſt Mo. 28, 1788. SAMUEL COATES, Clerk.

THE RAISING:

A NEW SONG FOR FEDERAL MECHANICS.

I.

COME muſter, my Lads, your mechanical Tools,
Your Saws and your Axes, your Hammers and Rules;
Bring your Mallets and Planes, your Level and Line,
And Plenty of Pins of American Pine;
For our Roof we will raiſe, and our Song ſtill ſhall be---
A Government firm, and our Citizens free.

II.

Come, up with *the Plates*, lay them firm on the Wall,
Like the People at large, they're the Ground-work of all;
Examine them well, and ſee that they're ſound,
Let no rotten Parts in our Building be found;
For our Roof we will raiſe, and our Song ſtill ſhall be---
Our Government firm, and our Citizens free.

III.

Now hand up *the Girders*, lay each in his Place,
Between them *the Joiſts* muſt divide all the Space;
Like Aſſembly-men, *theſe* ſhould lye level along,
Like *Girders*, our Senate prove loyal and ſtrong;
For our Roof we will raiſe, and our Song ſtill ſhall be---
A Government firm, over Citizens free.

IV.

The Rafters now frame---your *King-Poſts* and *Braces*,
And drive your Pins home, to keep all in their Places;
Let Wiſdom and Strength in the Fabric combine,
And your Pins be all made of American Pine;
For our Roof we will raiſe, and our Song ſtill ſhall be---
A Government firm, over Citizens free.

V.

Our *King-Poſts* are Judges---how upright they ſtand,
Supporting the *Braces*, the Laws of the Land---
The Laws of the Land, which divide Right from Wrong,
And ſtrengthen the Weak, by weak'ning the Strong;
For our Roof we will raiſe, and our Song ſtill ſhall be---
Laws equal and juſt, for a People that's free.

VI.

Up! Up with the Rafters---each Frame is a State!
How nobly they riſe! their Span, too, how great!
From the North to the South, o'er the Whole they extend,
And reſt on the Walls, while the Walls they defend!
For our Roof we will raiſe, and our Song ſtill ſhall be---
Combined in Strength, yet as Citizens free.

VII.

Now enter the *Purlins*, and drive your Pins through,
And ſee that your Joints are drawn home, and all true;
The *Purlins* will bind all the Rafters together,
The Strength of the Whole ſhall defy Wind and Weather;
For our Roof we will raiſe, and our Song ſtill ſhall be---
United as States, but as Citizens free.

VIII.

Come, raiſe up the Turret---our Glory and Pride---
In the Centre it ſtands, o'er the Whole to preſide;
The Sons of *Columbia* ſhall view with Delight
It's Pillars, and Arches, and towering Height;
Our Roof is now rais'd, and our Song ſtill ſh all be---
A Fœderal Head, o'er a People ſtill free.

IX.

Huzza! my brave Boys, our Work is complete,
The World ſhall admire *Columbia*'s fair Seat;
It's Strength againſt Tempeſt and Time ſhall be Proof,
And Thouſands ſhall come to dwell under our ROOF.
Whilſt we drain the deep Bowl, our Toaſt ſtill ſhall be---
Our Government firm, and our Citizens free.

A. B.

TO BE LETT,

A PLANTATION, with a large tract of banked meadow, ſituate in Glouceſter county, New-Jerſey, oppoſite to Cheſter. Any perſon, with a good capital, inclinable to take the above, may know the terms, by applying as the Printers will direct.

Whereas the PARTNERSHIP of

David and Matthew Duncan

Was DISSOLVED on the 1ſt day of October laſt,

ALL Perſons INDEBTED to, or who have DEMANDS on the SAME, are requeſted to ſettle with DAVID DUNCAN.

Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1788. c t 3 m.

TO BE SOLD,

A LARGE two-ſtory Stone Dwelling-Houſe and Kitchen, and Lot or Piece of Ground, Situate on Germantown main ſtreet, above the market-houſe, being about 133 feet and 9 inches front, and 396 feet back: Having thereon a Tan-Yard with 32 Vats, Lime-Handlers, a Stone Bark and Mill-Houſe, Currying and Lime-Houſe, a good Spring with a Spring-Houſe and Pump, a large Copper Boiler, Barn, Waggon-houſe, Stables, Garden, &c. containing about an acre, and is known by the name of JONES's TAN-YARD.

Alſo a Tract or Piece of Land, ſituate back of the above premiſes, fronting on Benſel's lane, leading to Schuylkill, very well improved, and having a conſiderable number of excellent Fruit-Trees.

Any perſon inclining to purchaſe the above premiſes, together or ſeparately, is deſired to apply to PETER LE BARBIER DUPLESSIS, Eſquire, in Cheſnut-ſtreet, near Third-ſtreet, or to JOSEPH FERREE.

N. B. An indiſputable title will be given for the above, as the mortgage will be previouſly diſcharged, and PENNSYLVANIA or JERSEY MONEY taken for half of the purchaſe money.

The above, if not ſold within a month from the date hereof, will be let. Enquire as above, where a number of Tracts of Land, patented or only warranted, may be had, at the moſt reaſonable price. Philadelphia, February 1, 1788.

Goſhen, Cheſter county, January 21, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Thurſday, the 14th day of February next, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, on the premiſes, A meſſuage, plantation and tract of land, ſituate in the townſhip of Weſt-town, containing 91 acres more or leſs, bounded by lands of Aaron James, Joſhua Hoops and others; ſeized and taken in execution, as the eſtate of Iſaiah Hoops and John Brown, and to be ſold, by EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Goſhen, Cheſter county, January 21, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public Sale, on Friday, the 15th day of February next, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, on the premiſes, A Meſſuage, Plantation and Tract of Land, ſituate in the Townſhip of Williſtown, containing 253 acres more or leſs; bounded by lands of Stephen Davie, Samuel Evans and others; ſeized and taken in execution as the eſtate late of John Boggs, deceaſed, and to be ſold, by † EZEKIEL LEONARD, Sheriff.

Just Published, and to be Sold by
THOMAS DOBSON and WILLIAM YOUNG, in Second-ſtreet, and JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, in Market-ſtreet,

CONDUCTOR GENERALIS:

OR THE

OFFICE, DUTY *and* AUTHORITY

OF

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE,

High-Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Coroners, Conſtables, Goalers, Jury-Men, and *Overſeers* of the *Poor.*

AS ALSO

The OFFICE *of* CLERKS *of* ASSIZE *and of the* PEACE, &c.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Several choice MAXIMS in LAW, &c.

Compiled chiefly from *Burn's Juſtice,* and the ſeveral other books on thoſe ſubjects.

By JAMES PARKER, Eſquire, *late* Juſtice *of the* Peace *in Middleſex county, New-Jerſey.*

Adapted to theſe United States.

The whole Alphabetically digeſted under the ſeveral titles; with a Table, directing to the ready finding out the proper matter under thoſe titles---*Neatly bound; Price* 11*ſ*3.

*** This Book is highly eſteemed, and very neceſſary for gentlemen in the commiſſion of the peace; likewiſe for every other perſon, who would wiſh to be acquainted with the laws of the land we live in.

At the above Stores alſo may be had, juſt Publiſhed,

Newton's Deſſertations on the Prophecies, 2 vols. 20*ſ.*

Edwards's Hiſtory of Redemption, 10*ſ.*

Edwards on Religious Affections, 10*ſ.*

New-Caſtle, January 8, 1788.

For Sale by Public Auction,

THE real eſtate late of JOHN VAN GEZELL, deceaſed; ſituate in the town of New-Caſtle, in the Delaware ſtate, conſiſting of a Brick Meſſuage and Lot of Ground, where the ſaid deceaſed had lived, on the north-weſt ſide of Front or Water-ſtreet. A large unimproved Lot, adjacent to the aforeſaid meſſuage, on the ſouth-weſterly ſide thereof, extending from Front-ſtreet to the market ſquare. Two other Brick Meſſuages occupied together, and their Lote, extending into the river Delaware, now in the tenure of Gunning Bedford, Eſquire, the beſt ſituation in the town for erecting a wharff upon. One other Brick Meſſuage and Lot, on the ſouth-ſide of the ſtreet leading from the Court-houſe to the river, in the tenure of Mr. Yeates. One Frame Meſſuage and its Lot, in the tenure of Capt. Webb, adjoining the next preceding lot; and a graſs Lot, containing between 4 and 5 acres, lying on the back ſtreet of the ſaid town and the road leading thereout towards Chriſtiana bridge, in the tenure of Mr. Lyon. The ſale aforeſaid to be made by the ſubſcriber, as executor of the deceaſed, in purſuance of his laſt will, on Tueſday, the 19th of February next, in the town of New-Caſtle, for the payment of the deceaſed's debts; on which day his creditors or their agents are requeſted to attend, (as the executor is apprehenſive that the whole of the property of the ſaid deceaſed may not, in the preſent ſcarcity of caſh, ſell for ſufficient to pay the debts, unleſs a credit ſhall be given to the purchaſers for the greater part of the purchaſe monies, and this the principal creditors of the deceaſed ſhould aſſent unto.) All ſuch creditors as have not tranſmitted a ſtate of their demands to the executor, are requeſted ſo to do before the ſaid day of ſale, to enable him to adjuſt the ſame for due order of payment.

GEORGE READ.

Agreeable to the laſt will and teſtament of WILLIAM PEARCE, *deceaſed, and by virtue of a decree of the Court of Chancery, Will be expoſed to Public Sale, on the 8th day of February next, upon the premiſes,*

TWO Valuable Tracts of LAND, adjoining, ſuppoſed to contain 326 acres, lying on Langford's Bay, Kent county, Maryland, and about five miles from Cheſter-Town. Attendance will be given, and the terms made known, by

¶ 2w. HENRY WARD PEARCE, Adminiſtrator.

January 8th, 1788.

Evesham townſhip, Burlington county, Jan. 28, 1788.

THREE POUNDS Reward.

RAN away, this morning, from the ſubſcriber, an apprentice lad, named JOHN WHITECRAFT, about 19 years of age, of a ſandy complexion, freckled in the face; had on and took with him, a fuſtian coatee, jacket and overalls, a new round hat, a pair of woollen trowſers, two jackets, one nap, the other coarſe cloth of a light colour, two pair of ſtockings, one white, the other blue. Whoever takes up and ſecures ſaid apprentice, ſo that his maſter may get him again, ſhall have the above reward, paid by ‡ WILLIAM SHARP.

TO BE LET,

And may be entered upon the 1ſt of April next,

A VERY valuable and well ſituated MERCHANT-MILL, in Upper Dublin townſhip, Montgomery county, and ſtate of Pennſylvania, near Germantown great road, and about 15 miles from Philadelphia. The ſaid mill is on a never failing ſtream of water, generally known by the name of Wiſſahickon creek, is very conveniently built, and in exceeding good repair, has two pair of ſtones, one of which are burs, lately fitted up in the beſt order for merchandiſing; together with a wind-mill, and new boulting cloths of the firſt quality. Said mill is conveniently ſituated to an exceeding good run of wheat, together with a vaſt run of country buſineſs. Alſo a valuable FARM adjoining the ſame, containing 125 acres of land, about 40 acres of which is good meadow ground, and a great part of the reſt good arable land, all well watered; whereon is a good two ſtory ſtone dwelling houſe and a large kitchen adjoining the ſame, a well of good water, a good bearing orchard, barn, ſtable and other out houſes, conveniently ſituated for carrying on the buſineſs of the ſame. The whole will be let together, or ſeparate. Any perſon or perſons inclining to rent or treat about the ſame, may be informed, by applying to the ſubſcriber near the premiſes.

Jan. 14, 1788. † JACOB REIFF, jun.

PHILIP BOEHM,

At his Store in Second-ſtreet, nine doors below Race-ſtreet, has for Sale the following GOODS, at the moſt reaſonable *prices,* for CASH or SHORT CREDIT, viz.

JAMAICA Spirits,
Weſt-India and Philadelphia Rum,
Liſbon,
Mountain,
Teneriffe,
Fyal } WINES,
Gin by the Caſe,
Tea, Coffee, Pepper and Sugar,
Lamp Oil and Mackarel.

N. B. He hopes that his former Cuſtomers will favour him with their continuance. † etf

To be SOLD at private Sale,

A LARGE commodious HOUSE, ſituate in Darby, next door to the Ship Tavern towards Philadelphia, very convenient for a large family, a good ſtand for a ſtore, or for a tradeſman that works in the houſe; there are four good rooms on each of the two firſt floors, and two ditto in the garret, all of them cieled, with a good cellar under it, alſo a pump at the kitchen door. The lot it ſtands on is 50 feet wide and about 400 deep, with a barn and a number of fruit trees.

Alſo to be ſold, another adjoining it, with two rooms on a floor, and a good cellar. The lot is 50 feet front and 400 in depth, with a ſtable on it, and a variety of fruit trees. Any perſon inclining to purchaſe, may know the terms by applying to JESSE SHARPLESS, at the corner of Cheſtnut and Third-ſtreets, Philadelphia. If not ſold, it will be to be rented, and may be entered on the 1ſt day of April next. The terms will be made eaſy to the purchaſer. §

Doctor HILL's *American Balſam,*

IS to be ſold in Philadelphia, by Mr. William Poyntell, at his ſtore, the corner of Black Horſe alley, in Second-ſtreet, alſo by Mr. George Reinholt, in Market-ſtreet, the ſecond door above Fifth-ſtreet; by Mr. Steiner, at the German printing office, in Race-ſtreet; at Germantown, by Mr. Juſtus Fox; at Lancaſter, by Ludwick Lawman, Eſq; at New-York, by Hugh Gaine; and by the ſubſcriber, at her place in Blockley, price ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence a bottle, and by the dozen ſix ſhillings a bottle.

This Balſam is now upwards of 20 years ſo well known in America that it is a moſt effectual and infallible medicine for colds, coughs and aſthmas; it gives great relief in the moſt painful rheumatiſm, in cholics, gravel and conſumption; it is a moſt excellent cure in the whooping cough, and in moſt all the diſorders and ſickneſſes of chilren, and for many other diſeaſes, as may be ſeen in the printed direction in Engliſh and German on each bottle. In old diſeaſes of long ſtanding, it will be neceſſary to continue the uſe of this healing balſam for a reaſonable time, by more than one ſingle bottle, and then they may expect relief from this, as thouſands of people can teſtify who have tried other things without ſucceſs; there are indeed ſeveral balſams and preparations of medicine, which gives ſometimes preſent relief for a ſhort time in many diſorders, but ſoon after returns more furious than before, but this American balſam performed perfect and effectual cures; its fame is ſpread moſt every where, it is almoſt inconceivable to hear what ſurpriſing cures this balſam has performed with people who have tried and experienced its wonderful effects: Each bottle is ſealed up with the repreſentation of a certain plant in a heart, and if any balſam under this name ſhould be ſold in any other place not mentioned in my advertiſements, the public may be aſſured it is not Dr. Hill's balſam, but counterfeit, becauſe no other perſon is able to prepare the genuine balſam, for want of the principal ingredients of which Dr. Hill's American balſam is compoſed.

Since the former proprietors are deceaſed, both William Young, junior and ſenior, therefore the preſent is a ſiſter to William Young, jun. botaniſt. ¶ CHRISTIANA LEECH.

THE ACTING COMMITTEE of the Society for alleviating the Miſeries of Public Priſons, viſiting agreeable to their appointment, the Goal and Work-houſe of this city, have frequently wiſhed that the funds of their inſtitution would allow them to ſupply the *unhappy beings,* there confined, with ſuitable cloathing during this inclement ſeaſon; but as this is altogether out of their power, they find themſelves under the neceſſity of calling on their fellow citizens to afford all poſſible relief in this particular.---Any old blankets, ſhoes, ſtockings, mens and womens apparel, will be highly acceptable: ſuch articles looked up, and forwarded to Mrs. *Richards,* at the Work-houſe, will be duly adminiſtered to the *wretched* and *ſuffering* priſoners. The Committee mean not to enlarge; they flatter themſelves the inhabitants of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, will, readily, out of their abundance, ſpare a little to *cloath* the *naked,* as they have already contributed toward *feeding* the *hungry:* and thus ſhall the bleſſing of *many, ready to periſh,* alight on the heads of their *humane* and *generous Benefactors.*

William Rogers,
John Morriſon,
Benjamin Thaw,
John Kaighn, } Acting Committee.
Francis Bailey,
Jeremiah Fiſher.

Philadelphia, Jan. 12, 1788.

CAME to the plantation of the ſubſcriber, living in Tredyffrin townſhip, Cheſter county, Pennſylvania, about the beginning of December laſt, a ſmall ſorrel MARE, ſuppoſed to be ten or eleven years old, neither brand nor ear mark perceived. The owner is deſired to come, prove property, pay charges and take her away. § RICHARD MILES.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at the houſe of Samuel Flack, inn-keeper, in Warwick townſhip, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Meſſuage and Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead townſhip, containing about 17 acres and 115 perches, bounded by lands of Matthew Day, Edward Good, Chriſtian Overholtz, and others; taken in execution as the property of Jacob Glauſe, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Venditioni Exponas, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, at the houſe of Samuel Flack, inn-keeper, in Warwick townſhip, on Saturday, the 9th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, A certain Plantation or Tract of Land, ſituate in Plumſtead townſhip, containing about 90 acres, be the ſame more or leſs; bounded by lands of John Dyer, Thomas Dyer, Thomas Wright, and others; late the property of Joſiah Dyer, deceaſed; taken in execution, and to be ſold by ¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Bucks county, January 9, 1788.

BY virtue of a writ of Levari Facias, to me directed, will be expoſed to public ſale, on Monday, the 11th of February next, at two o'clock in the afternoon, at the Court-houſe in Newtown, Two Lots of Land in Newtown aforeſaid, containing in the whole about ſix acres; the ſoil is of the beſt quality, and ſeveral dwelling-houſes are erected on the lots, one of which is occupied as an Inn, and is well ſituated for the ſame; there are alſo barns, ſtables and other neceſſary out-buildings, ſo as to render them very valuable and convenient; all late the property of Deborah Sedons, deceaſed, and to be ſold by

¶ WILLIAM ROBERTS, Sheriff.

Ridley townſhip, Cheſter county, Dec. 20, 1787.

TAKEN treſpaſſing on the ſubſcrber's incloſure, two MARES, ſuppoſed to be about three years old, near 14 hands high; the one a ſorrel, has no perceivable mark; the other a black, with a ſtar in her forehead. The owner or owners, proving property and paying charges, may have them again, by applying to † JOHN NOBLIT.

TO BE SOLD,

Or Let on Improving Leaſes,

A BODY of very valuable Farming LANDS in Northampton county, Pennſylvania, 5 or 6 miles from the New-York line, beginning on the head waters of Shohocking creek, about four miles from the river Delaware, and extending ſouth-weſterly about three miles, when the courſe of the lands turns from the ſouth, and runs nearly due weſt. The northernmoſt waters of the Equinunk touch two of the ſouthernmoſt lots. There is an ample quantity of graſs and meadow ground to each tract, and they are well timbered with beech, ſugar maple, birch, aſh, &c. The quality of theſe lands is in many inſtances very fine, and they will all make very good farms. Their produce will in a ſhort time be got to market on eaſy terms, from the improvement of the navigation of the Delaware, and of the Suſquehannah, a ſtream of which riſes in the weſtern part of the tracts, and runs northerly into that river at the Great Bend. The diſtance from Eaſton is about 80 miles. They have the advantage of moſt of the unimproved lands now offering for ſale or leaſe, in being very near to thick ſettlements that lie eaſtward and ſouthward of them, and in having the ſettlements on the Suſquehannah in New-York and Pennſylvania, with that river itſelf, to defend them from the Indians, if any diſturbances ſhould take place. The twenty-three townſhips granted lately by New-York to Maſſachuſetts lie on the north-weſt, and run nearly weſt of them to a great diſtance. As there is every reaſon to expect thoſe townſhips will have ſeveral hundred families on them in the courſe of 1788, they will form a frontier for the lands now offered. For terms, apply to CHARLES COXE, Eſq; Kingwood, Hunterdon county New-Jerſey, GEORGE PALMER, Eſq; Moore townſhip, Northampton county, Captain WILLIAM CRAIG, Eaſton (who have actual ſurveys of the lands,) or in Philadelphia, to ctIM TENCH COXE,

Cheſtnut-ſtreet, Jan. 9, 1788. N. FRAZIER.

TO THE PUBLIC.

BY virtue of the authority veſted in us, the ſubſcribers, as Auditors appointed by the court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia county, in a certain domeſtic attachment therein pending, wherein Jacob Benner the elder and Jacob Benner the younger, executors of George Benner, deceaſed, are plaintiffs, againſt Edward M'Keggan, defendant, there will be Sold at public Vendue, at the Old Coffee-Houſe, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wedneſday, the 13th day of February next, at ſix o'clock in the evening, for the benefit of the ſaid Edward M'Keggan's creditors, a certain two ſtory BRICK HOUSE, with the LOT of GROUND whereon the ſame is erected, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of Third-ſtreet from Delaware, in the ſaid city, at the diſtance of 48 feet to the northward of Union-ſtreet, containing in front on Third-ſtreet 16 feet, and in length or depth 56 feet 6 inches, with the privilege of an alley of three and an half feet in width leading from Union-ſtreet.

The purchaſe money of the Ground on which the houſe ſtands, amounting to £ 175, with intereſt thereon from the 19th of March 1782, have not yet been paid, but the owner of the ground will deliver the deed, as ſoon as his demand is diſcharged.

The Houſe is convenient, has a genteel appearance, and its ſituation pleaſant and agreeable. Attendance will be given by the ſubſcribers,

Philadelphia county, JOHN BROWNE,
Jan. 9, 1788. JAMES ASH,
THOMAS BRITTON.

WHITE and PATTON, Merchants of this city, late Copartners in Trade, having aſſigned to us, the ſubſcribers, all the eſtate, rights, credits and effects of ſaid copartnerſhip, and impowered us to demand and receive payment of and from all perſons indebted to the copartnerſhip aforeſaid. The debtors are hereby notified, that unleſs they reſpectively do pay or ſecure the payment in three months from the date hereof, they will be proceeded againſt according to law, without reſpect to perſons.

ABEL JAMES, } Aſſignees.
Jan. 11, 1788. STEPHEN COLLINS, }

FOUR PENCE Reward.

RAN away from the ſubſcriber, living in Southampton townſhip, Bucks county, on the 21ſt day of December laſt, an indented ſervant man, named William Hopper, near 21 years of age, has four months and eleven days to ſerve, black hair and black eyes, about 5 feet 8 inches high, well made; had on when he went away, a grey coloured upper jacket, a ſwanſkin under ditto, old leather breeches, old ſhoes, with odd buckles, a caſtor hat. Whoever takes up the ſaid ſervant, and brings him home to his maſter, ſhall be paid the above reward, and their labour or their pains, by § LEONARD KROESEN.

Mill Stones and Boulting Cloths,

FOR SALE BY

Robert Lewis & Sons,

At their STORES, and MILL-STONE MANUFACTORY, on the fourth wharff below the Drawbridge, and next to Levi Hollingſworth's.

BURRS of excellent quality, juſt imported from France, and are now manufacturing into mill ſtones of all ſizes and dimenſions which may be ordered, by a compleat workman from England, and warranted at leaſt equal in quality, and as low in price as thoſe imported from Europe. Directions will be given (if required) for laying out the quarters, and dreſſing them to the beſt advantage, according to the temper of the ſtones.

COLOGNE MILL STONES (commonly called CULLINGS) imported from Holland, a few of different ſizes.

COUNTRY-MADE ditto, from the American Rock, of every uſual ſize, or any other that may be ordered, the *beſt grit* for merchant or country work, either to run together, or work with a French Burr or Cologne, ever yet experienced in this ſtate.

Warranted Boulting Cloths.

A very extenſive and compleat aſſortment, lately imported from the manufactories, ſuitable to every branch of the Boulting buſineſs; which are to be diſpoſed of at the ſame low rates as they were ſold before the revolution, at the Stores above mentioned, or at ROBERT LEWIS's dwelling-houſe in Spruce, three doors from Third-ſtreet. MILLERS and others may be furniſhed with Cloths *of ſuperior quality and texture* to any we have hitherto known imported into America: Thoſe who are unacquainted with this very *difficult and precarious* article, may rely on being ſupplied with ſuch Cloths as will certainly anſwer their purpoſes; provided they attend to directions for affixing them on the Reels, in the moſt advantageous manner to perform the work intended; which will ſave the trouble and expence of returning Cloths of *an inferior kind,* which are frequently ſold in this and the neighbouring States.

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